

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE
ON DISARMAMENT

ENDC/PV.375
11 March 1968
ENGLISH

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIFTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Thursday, 7 March 1968, at 10.30 a.m.

THE UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

APR 29 1968

DOCUMENT
COLLECTION

Chairman:

Mr. J.A. de ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil)

GE.68-4109
68-07806

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. J.A. de ARAUJO CASTRO
Mr. C.A. de SOUZA e SILVA
Mr. A. da COSTA GUIMARAES
Mr. O. MUNIZ OLIVA

Bulgaria:

Mr. K. CHRISTOV
Mr. B. KONSTANTINOV

Burma:

U. MAUNG MAUNG
U. KYAW MIN

Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS
Mr. A.G. CAMPBELL
Mr. J.R. MORDEN
Mr. A. BERNIER

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. P. WINKLER
Mr. T. LAHODA
Mr. V. VAJNAR

Ethiopia:

Mr. A. ZELLEKE
Mr. B. ASSFAW

India:

Mr. M.A. HUSAIN
Mr. K.P. JAIN

Italy:

Mr. R. CARACCIOLO
Mr. G.P. TOZZOLI
Mr. E. FRANCO
Mr. R. BERLENGHI

Mexico:

Mr. A. GOMEZ ROBLEDO
Mr. A. CARRANCO AVILA

Nigeria:

Alhaji SULE KOLO
Mr. B.O. TONWE

Poland:

Mr. M. BLUSZTAJN
Mr. E. STANIEWSKI
Mr. S. DABROWA

Romania:

Mr. N. ECOBESCO
Mr. C. GEORGESCO
Mr. A. COROIANU
Mr. C. MITRAN

Sweden:

Mr. A. EDELSTAM
Mr. M. STAHL
Mr. R. BOMAN

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics:

Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN
Mr. V.V. SHUSTOV
Mr. V.B. TOULINOV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. H. KHALLAF
Mr. O. SIRRY
Mr. M. SHAKER

United Kingdom:

Mr. I.F. PORTER
Mr. R.I.T. CROMARTIE

United States of America:

Mr. W.C. FOSTER
Mr. S. DePALMA
Mr. L.D. WEILER
Mr. C.G. BREAM

Special Representative of the
Secretary-General:

Mr. D. PROTITCH

1. The CHAIRMAN (Brazil): I declare open the 375th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.
2. Before calling upon the first speaker on my list, I shall give the floor to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.
3. Mr. PROTITCH (Special Representative of the Secretary-General): I should like to point out that in the English text of document ENDC/222 the normal English alphabetical order should be: first Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, then United Kingdom and then United States of America.
4. Mr. FOSTER (United States of America): Today I wish to speak on the question of security assurances, a subject of vital interest to many countries. The statements to be made today by the Co-Chairmen and the representative of the United Kingdom are, I believe, of historic significance, in terms of both their relationship to the non-proliferation treaty and, in the longer term, their contribution to international security and world order.
5. The United States fully appreciates the desire of many non-nuclear-weapon States that appropriate measures be taken to safeguard their security in conjunction with their adherence to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. This is a difficult and complicated problem and we have searched for a solution that would be practical in a world in which nations have differing interests. We have searched for a solution which would be credible, and therefore effective, in the face of unforeseen circumstances.
6. We have therefore examined this matter in the context of action relating to the United Nations, outside the treaty itself but in close conjunction with it. This is proper, for it is the United Nations which is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, and it is under its Charter that each of our countries has assumed a solemn obligation to co-operate in the maintenance of peace.
7. Accordingly the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom have agreed to sponsor a draft resolution on security assurances for consideration by the United Nations Security Council, the organ of the United Nations bearing the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. We would propose that the text of the draft resolution appear in an annex to our

(Mr. Foster, United States)

draft report to the General Assembly, on which report we expect to consult the Committee shortly. The text of the draft resolution is before you, in document ENDC/222. I do not, therefore, propose to read it. This Security Council resolution will lay a firm political, moral and legal basis for assuring the security of non-nuclear countries.

8. In addition, Mr. Chairman, it will be noted that a key paragraph of this resolution envisages declarations of intention in support of the provision of assurances to parties to the treaty. Accordingly the Government of the United States will make a declaration of its intention in conjunction with Security Council action on the resolution. This statement, together with declarations that will be made by other States, will give increased significance to the action of the Security Council.

9. In its statement the United States will take note of the desire of States adhering to the non-proliferation treaty to have appropriate actions undertaken to safeguard their security, and will affirm that any aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons would endanger the peace and security of all States. The United States will declare that aggression with nuclear weapons, or the threat of such aggression, against a non-nuclear-weapon State would create a qualitatively new situation. We will declare that in this situation the nuclear-weapon States which are permanent members of the United Nations Security Council would have to act immediately through the Security Council to take the measures necessary to counter such aggression or to remove the threat of aggression in accordance with the United Nations Charter. The Charter calls for taking "effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace ..."

10. The United States will declare, therefore, that any State which commits aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons, or which threatens such aggression, must be aware that its actions are to be countered effectively by measures to be taken in accordance with the United Nations Charter to suppress the aggression or remove the threat of aggression.

(Mr. Foster, United States)

11. In addition, Mr. Chairman, the Government of the United States will in its declaration affirm its intention, as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, to seek immediate Security Council action to provide assistance in accordance with the Charter, to any non-nuclear-weapon State party to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, that is a victim of an act of aggression or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used.

12. The United States will reaffirm in particular the inherent right, recognized under Article 51 of the Charter, of individual and collective self-defence if an armed attack, including a nuclear attack, occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

13. The United States will also indicate that its vote for this resolution and its statement of the way in which the United States intends to act in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations are based upon the fact that the resolution is supported by other permanent members of the Security Council who are nuclear-weapon States and are also proposing to sign the non-proliferation treaty. The declaration of the United States will state that our vote for this resolution is based on the fact that these States have made similar statements as to the way in which they intend to act in accordance with the Charter.

14. Mr. Chairman, I believe it is fair to say that there have been few days in the life of this Committee as important as this one. The full significance of the Security Council action we are proposing must be seen in the light of the present world situation. It reflects the determination of the nuclear-weapon States which intend to become parties to the non-proliferation treaty to have assistance provided in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations to any party to the treaty which is a victim of an act of aggression or the object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used. This action will enhance the security of all parties to the treaty, and in particular of those who find themselves confronted by a direct nuclear threat to their security. It is in the light of these considerations that the Governments of all members of this Committee will want to give careful study to the statements made here today.

(Mr. Foster, United States)

15. The action we contemplate for the Security Council will, we believe, constitute a heartening reaffirmation of the basic purpose of the United Nations and of the responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of peace. The achievement of a non-proliferation treaty and the implementation of the proposal on security assurances set forth today will mark a turning-point in man's efforts to achieve a firmer basis for lasting peace and international security in a world in which man will be the master, rather than the victim, of the atom.

16. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Today we submit to the members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament the proposal on the solution of the question of security assurances (ENDC/222) which resulted from consultations on this matter held between the co-Chairmen as well as the delegation of the United Kingdom.

17. From the very beginning of the discussion by the Committee of the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons the Soviet Union has attached great importance to the question of security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States which, under the treaty, will undertake not to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons. Tabling the appropriate proposal on this matter, we take into consideration the concern of a number of non-nuclear-weapon States with a positive solution of the question of security assurances.

18. We have before us a clear-cut picture of the following principal goal -- the achievement of which is to be secured by solving the question of security assurances -- that is, to provide for measures towards assuring the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against a nuclear attack or the threat of such attack. In the course of the consultations on security assurances we constantly bore in mind the viewpoints on the matter put forward by the representatives of various States and sought to work out the most acceptable solution as regards both its essence and the form.

19. We believe that this matter could be solved within the framework of the United Nations and the United Nations Security Council, the body which is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

20. Today we submit to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament a draft Security Council resolution, sponsored by the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. The significance of this resolution will lie in the fact that it provides for taking effective measures in case of aggression with nuclear weapons, or the threat of such aggression, against a non-nuclear-weapon State. Such measures are to be taken through the United Nations Security Council, which bears the principal responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Thereby the question of assuring the security of States parties to the treaty on non-proliferation will be decided on the basis of the Charter and within the framework of the United Nations, which has more than 120 Member States.

21. It is also necessary to stress that collective action of the Security Council will be supported by certain measures. It is meant that the nuclear-weapon States permanent members of the Security Council which are proposing to become parties to the treaty on non-proliferation will make, in connexion with the conclusion of such treaty, a declaration of their intention to provide or support immediate assistance in accordance with the Charter to the non-nuclear-weapon State party to the treaty that is a victim of an act or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used.

22. We think that the draft Security Council resolution on security assurances properly solves the problem of assuring the security of non-nuclear-weapon States parties to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

23. Tabling the draft Security Council resolution on security assurances, the Soviet Union intends to make a declaration in the Security Council in which it will emphasize that the Soviet Union will welcome the willingness of States which will express the desire to subscribe to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and thereby to undertake not to receive the transfer from any transferor whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

24. In its statement the Soviet Union will also note the concern and the interest of certain of those States that, in conjunction with their adherence to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, appropriate measures be undertaken to safeguard their security. Any aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons would endanger the peace and security of all States.

25. Bearing this in mind, we would like to emphasize that in its statement the Soviet Union will declare that aggression with nuclear weapons or the threat of such aggression against a non-nuclear-weapon State would create a qualitatively new situation in which nuclear-weapon States permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations would have to act immediately through the Security Council to take measures necessary to counter such aggression or remove the threat of aggression in accordance with the United Nations Charter, which calls for taking of "effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace". Therefore, any State which commits aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons or which threatens such aggression must be aware that its actions are to be countered effectively by measures to be taken in accordance with the United Nations Charter to suppress aggression or remove the threat of aggression.

26. The Soviet Union will affirm in its declaration its intention, as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, to seek immediate Security Council action to provide assistance, in accordance with the Charter, to any non-nuclear-weapon State party to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons that is a victim of an act or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used.

27. The Soviet Union will reaffirm in particular the inherent right, recognized under Article 51 of the Charter, of individual and collective self-defence if an armed attack, including a nuclear attack, occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

28. The declaration of the Soviet Union will also indicate that the vote of the Soviet Union for such resolution and its statement of the way in which the Soviet Union intends to act in accordance with the United Nations Charter are based upon the fact that the resolution will be supported by other permanent members of the

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

Security Council that are nuclear-weapon States and that are also proposing to sign the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and that these States are making similar statements as to the way in which they intend to act in accordance with the Charter.

29. Mr. PORTER (United Kingdom): I should like to comment briefly on the draft Security Council resolution on security assurances which is before us (ENDC/222).

30. The question of security assurances has been an important gap in these complex negotiations on the non-proliferation issue and one to which many delegations, aligned and non-aligned, have drawn the attention of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. No clear consensus has emerged from our discussions in the Committee; but that is understandable given the different security problems facing different States.

31. The draft resolution before us is a resolution of the Security Council; and I am convinced that that is the right context in which to deal with security assurances. It is the Security Council which is entrusted by the United Nations with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. When the question facing us is security against nuclear aggression or threat of aggression, it is natural that the nuclear-weapon States represented here should be asked what would be their attitude in such circumstances, particularly as they are permanent members of the Security Council.

32. In the context of the draft Security Council resolution before us, my Government is prepared to make a declaration of its intentions similar to those described by the representatives of the United States and the USSR.

33. Finally, I should add that our vote for the draft resolution and the declaration that we are ready to make are conditional upon support of the resolution by other nuclear-weapon States, permanent members of the Security Council that propose to sign the treaty and upon their making a declaration similar to ours.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 375th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador J.A. de Araujo Castro, representative of Brazil.

"Statements were made by the representatives of the United States, the USSR and the United Kingdom.

"The delegations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America tabled a draft resolution of the Security Council on security assurances (ENDC/222).

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Tuesday, 12 March 1968, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 11.25 a.m.

